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Exhibit # _____

Translated by
Defense Language Branch

Official Gazette Extra. (26, Aug. 1932)

Stenographic Records No. 2 of the Proceedings of the House of
Peers, 63rd Session of the Imperial Diet.

Opened at 10:06 a. m., Thursday, 25 August, 1932.

(Omitted)

State Minister (Count UCHIDA):

(Omitted)

It is a matter for congratulation that Manchukuo is now attaining
sound and steady development. The Imperial Government believes that
its recognition of this new state will prove the shortest way for the
stabilization of conditions in Manchuria and Mongolia, and as well
as for the subsequent realization of lasting peace in the Far East.

(Omitted)

There is no gain saying the fact that the main cause for the
aggravated international relations of late in the Far East lies in
the execution on the part of China of exclusive and revolutionary
diplomacy, notably influenced by radical thoughts, as well as by the
disorderly conditions in China. Furthermore, while it goes without
saying that Japan is suffering most from such abnormal conditions
in China, other powers, too, have been subjected to unpardonable in-
sults and unbearable disasters. I have no doubt, however, but that
those well acquainted with the actual conditions in China will readily

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admit how utterly difficult it is to leave the rectification of such conditions to the Covenants of the League or other so-called peace maintenance organs. In fact, various powers, whenever there have been serious encroachments or fear of such upon their interests in China, have instead of relying on those organs, invariably taken measures directly for themselves to rectify or to prevent encroachments. Even the recent instances alone are too many to be enumerated.

For twenty-odd long years, we have maintained utmost patience and perseverance, sincerely hoping that it will not be long before China, by moderate and steady means, be able not only to regain her prosperity but also to fulfil her mission towards the peace of the Far East.

However, the Chinese side, void of sincerity to respond properly to our generous attitude, grew all the more contemptuous and exclusive.

In spite of the repeated warnings by the Imperial Government that it was very dangerous for the Chinese side to assume such an attitude as if to try the perseverance of the Japanese nation, the situation, being never in the least improved, was only aggravated.

Such being the case the patience of the Japanese people, after all those years of forbearance, had all but reached its limits, when the so-called 18 Sept. Incident broke out in Manchuria and Mongolia the life-line of our country. There was nothing for us to do but resolutely to take action in self-defense. There are some who contend

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that Japan's action was in contradiction with the Anti-war Pact. . . .
This contention, however, is not based on facts.

As I have previously pointed out, China's encroachments upon our interests, with such serious bearing upon the existence of Japan, had impelled us to take necessary preventive steps.

The Anti-War Pact does not in any way restrict the exercise of the right of self-defense in such a case, that is, it does not prohibit its signatory powers from taking whatever measures they judge necessary for the protection of their territories and all their interests against menace.

It is further evident that this right of self-defense could be exercised outside the territories of the nation so doing Japan's action is, in substance, identical to that of any other power under similar circumstances. As you all know, immediately after we had commenced our self-defensive action, the great majority of the officials of the Chang Hsueh-liang Regime either deserted or resigned, bringing about the de facto dissolution of the Regime.

In Manchuria and Mongolia, there had been growing tendency towards a political renovation, among the learned men who were even opposed to these areas' being involved in the civil war raging in China Proper, and who abhorred the Chiangs' maladministration for so many years. Now that the Chang Hsueh-liang Regime had collapsed, these men, taking advantage of the golden opportunity, started an

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actual movement.

That is to say as the result of the de facto dissolution of the Chang Hsueh-liang Regime, peace maintenance associations were organized in Mukden, Harbin, and elsewhere.

In view of our responsibilities for the maintenance of peace and order in Manchuria and Mongolia, we were ready to render any necessary assistance to those peace maintenance associations.

In the meantime, the leading members of these associations, availing themselves of the situation sprang to their feet, and at last established a new state. In short, the establishment of Manchukuo is nothing but the fruition of an independence movement backed by peculiarities in geography history and inhabitants' ^{psychology} as against those of China Proper. There are those who hold that the new state has been established as the result of our military action, thus shifting responsibility on to Japan. These people, however, have failed to grasp the foregoing circumstances, and we, for our part, find it impossible to admit their views.

Furthermore, some suspect as if Japan had had something to do with the creation of the new state, for no other reason than that many of our nationals are serving in the Manchukuoan Government.

Now there have been many precedents of making use of foreigners skill and ability on the occasion of the establishment of state.

In fact, after the MEIJI Restoration, our government employed many officials or foreigners either as advisors. For instance, in 1875 (the 8th year

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of Meiji) the number of these foreigners exceeded 500, in all.

To put it briefly, it should be regarded as most prejudiced to entertain such unjust suspicions merely because there are Japanese nationals holding office in the Manchukuoan Government.

The birth of Manchukuo was the result of the separation movement within China, as has been elucidated above. Some contend it against the provisions of the 9-Power Treaty for Japan to recognize the new state, which has been formed in such a manner and which is already existent. This contention is very hard to comprehend.

The Nine-Power Treaty in no way prohibit the establishment of an independent state through such action of separation in China, initiated by the inhabitants in a certain part of China.

Therefore, it is not in contravention of the provisions of the 9 Power Treaty for Japan, a party to the Treaty, to recognize Manchukuo which has been brought into being on the initiative of Manchu-Mongolian inhabitants and is now existent. The supposition that we are trying to fulfil our territorial designs in those areas, such as the annexation of Manchu-Mongolia, places the matter in an entirely new light.

It is, however, hardly necessary to repeat that we have no territorial designs whatever towards Manchuria and Mongolia.

I have now made it clear that Japan's attitude towards China, and especially the measures we have taken ever since the 18 September Incident have been just and appropriate; that Manchukuo has been

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established of the inhabitants' own accord and, therefore, it should be regarded as the fruit of the separation movement in China; and that it is by no means in contravention of the provisions of the 9-Power Treaty for Japan to recognize a new state formed in this manner.

Now I should like to proceed to the reason why our Government believes its recognition of Manchukuo to be the only way of solving the Manchu-Mongolian Problems. In the settlement of the Manchu-Mongolian questions, our Government will lay chief emphases on the following two points: firstly not only to have the just demands of the inhabitants satisfied and Japan's rights and interests secured, to prevent, the reappearance of former exclusive institutions in order to turn these areas into a paradise for Japanese and other nationals to enjoy peaceful living in, thereby hoping to realize not only the stabilization of Manchuria and Mongolia themselves but also permanent peace in the Far East; secondly, to disregard emotional or abstract arguments, but to try to solve the problems in the light of the actual facts in Manchuria and Mongolia.

In view of the circumstances in the past that had led to the outbreak of the Manchurian Incident, and of the enormous sacrifices we have so far made to the Manchu Mongolian question, we feel keenly the necessity of fundamentally solving the Manchu-Mongolian Problem in consideration of those two points, and thereby to eradicate the deep-rooted evils between Japan and China.

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Of late, however, it is contemplated in some quarters to patch up a temporary settlement by establishing some form of connection between the Central China Regime and Manchu-Mongolia.

In the light of our long experiences in the past, there is no doubt but that such a step will after all lead to the mere repolition of the situation before the 13 Sept. Incident. Therefore, Japanese people will never agree to such solution. The advance in whatever manner of the Central China Regime into Manchuria and Mongolia, will be utterly incompatible with the political belief set forth in the Manchukuan Government's proclamation, Independence and its statement to foreign countries; it goes without saying that the Manchukurians should not by any means admit such advance. To coerce the Manchurians and Mongolians into acting against their will, is not only incompatible with the sense of justice, but also it will only result in another confusion in those areas.

In short, the design to facilitate the advance of the Central China Regime towards Manchuria and Mongolia and other similar make-shift contrivances do not comply with the aim of turning Manchu-Mongolia into a paradise for Japanese and other nationals to enjoy peaceful living, nor with the principle of attaching importance to the actual situation in those areas, and therefore, they are not the best way to realize the stabilization of those areas or much less the permanent peace in the Far East.

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On the other hand, Manchukuo, both in her Proclamation of Independence and her statement to foreign countries, advocates extremely fair and just policies. With regard to foreign relations especially, she has made clear the policies of aiming at justice, peace, and friend-ship; of assuming and fulfilling treaty obligations in conformity with the international laws and customs, of respecting interests of foreign residents; of protecting their lives and property; of welcoming visits of foreigners; of according equal and fair treatment to various peoples; of observing the open-door policy in connection with economic activities of foreigners; of facilitating commercial and trade activities with various powers, thus contributing to the development of the world economy; and so on. It is further evident that the Manchukuoan authorities are in all sincerity to carry these policies into practice. Accordingly, for us to extend our recognition to this country and to assist her in her utmost efforts towards the execution of the aforesaid sound policies, will prove the best way of creating, in conformity with actual conditions there, a paradise for the peaceful living of Japanese and other nationals.

It must be clear to all that this is really the only way to settle for good the Manchu-Mongol problems. As has been already pointed out, Manchukuo's policies are fair and just and the Manchukuoan authorities are in all sincerity to carry them into execution. If she sticks to

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the pure and genuine spirit of her founding and keeps on exerting her utmost, she has a great future in store.

There are those who exaggerate the rampancy of bandits in Manchukuo, while others predict her financial difficulties. We, however, find it hard to support these pessimistic views. There have been, in the world, a great many instances of new states suffering, as in the case of Manchukuo today, from the rampancy of rebels in the early days of their history. Besides, in most cases, it has taken a considerable time to bring them under subjugation.

Compared with those, we must say that the subjugation of bandits in Manchuria at present is making good progress. It is also said that her financial conditions are far better than the authorities had predicted at the outset.

There is no doubt but that Manchukuo, in view of her territory, population, and especially of her vast natural resources, will, if properly governed, will surely become a wealthy country, and will also prove a promising market for various countries.

It is my ardent desire that Manchukuo, attaining sound development, will be able not only to realize the welfare of her 30 million people, but also to set a good example to the revival of the China Proper.

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the internal political discord has recently become further aggravated while vast areas including the Yangtze River and the whole of Southern China are infested by Communist bandits. These cast a dark shadow on the future of the National Government.

Yet, the anti-foreign movements, particularly the anti-Japanese movements, are still going on. We can easily imagine that if things be left as they are, the relations between the China Proper and other countries will be more and more complicated, and consequently, the internal disorders will be aggravated. The subsequent privations and hardships of the people at large deserve utmost sympathy.

I keenly realize that for China to persist in the present state will not only be regrettable for China herself, but also be likely to bring about a grave situation for foreign countries as well. If, on the contrary, the Chinese side, fully realizing the above-mentioned situations, at once do away with her erroneous foreign policies, and at the same time assume a constructive attitude with a view to devoting all efforts to internal adjustment, such would be a matter for congratulation both for China and for other countries.

It goes without saying that we shall render every possible effort in view of the general situation in the East. I cannot but hope most earnestly that the time will not be long in coming when the three states of Japan, Manchukuo, and China, whose peoples use the same script and belong to the same race, will, as independent states, helping each other, be able to exerting their utmost efforts not only for the peace and welfare of the Far East, but also for the world peace and human culture.

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CERTIFICATE OF SOURCE AND AUTHENTICITY

I, MIYAZAKA, Kanko, who occupy the post of Chief of the Archives Section of the House of Councillors, hereby certify that the document hereto attached, written in Japanese, consisting of 3 pages and entitled "Official Gazette (Extra.) Aug. 26, 1932. Stenographic Records of Proceedings No.2 of the House of Peers at the 63rd session of the Imperial Diet" is an exact and authorized excerpt from an official document in the custody of Japanese Government (House of Peers).

Certified at Tokyo,

on this ____ day of ____ 1947.

/S/ MIYAZAKA, Kanko (seal)

I hereby certify that the above signature and seal were affixed hereto in the presence of the Witness.

At the same place, on this same date.

Witness: YAMADA, Itaru (seal)
Chief of the Stenographer Section

官報

外

昭和七年八月二十六日

○第六十三回 貴族院議事速記録第二號

昭和七年八月二十五日（木曜日）午前十時六分開議

EXHIBIT #

中略

○國務大臣（伯爵内田康哉君）中略

滿洲國ガ益々健全ナル發達ノ道程ヲ辿ツテ居リマスノハ御同慶ノ至デア
リマス。帝國政府ハ新國家ニ對スル承認ヲ以テ滿蒙ノ事態ヲ安定シ、延
イテ極東ニ於ケル恒久的ノ平和ヲ招來スベキ唯一ノ解決方法ト認ムル者
デアリマス。

中略

抑モ近年極東ニ於テ國際關係惡化ノ主要ナル原因ガ、支那ノ混亂セル狀
態ニ加フルニ過激思想ノ顯著ナル影響ヲ受ケタル排外的革命外交ノ遂行
ニ存スルコトハ、何人モ爭ヒ難イ所デアリマス。而シテ右支那ノ異常ナ
ル狀況ニ依ル最大ノ被害者ガ日本デアアルコトハ申ス迄モアリマセヌガ、
其他ノ列國モ亦忍ブベカラサル侮辱ト堪ヘ難キ災害ヲ蒙リ來ツタ次第デ
アリマス、然ルニ斯ノ如キ事態ノ匡正ヲ聯盟規約其他所謂平和維持機關

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ニ求ムルノ至難ナルコトハ、苟クモ支那ノ實情ニ通ズル者ノ直チニ首肯
 シ得ベキ所ト信ジマス、現ニ列國ハ其在支利益ニ對スル重大ナル侵害ヲ
 受ケ、又ハ受クル虞アル場合ニハ、是等ノ機關ニ依頼スルコトナク、直
 接其目力ヲ以テ之ガ匡救又ハ豫防ヲ計ルコトヲ常トシテ居ルノデアリマ
 シテ、最近ノ事例ノミヲ數フルモ枚舉ニ遑ナキ有様デアリマス。我國ハ
 支那ガ穩健著實ナル方法ニ依リ其ノ國運ヲ挽回シ、進ンデ極東ノ平和ニ
 對スル同國ノ使命ヲ果シ得ル日ノ速カニ到來セムコトヲ衷心希望シツツ、
 二十餘年ノ久シキニ互リ極度ノ自制ト忍耐トヲ示シ來ツタノデアリマス。
 而モ支那側ハ我が寛大ナル態度ニ應ゼムトスル誠意ナク、我方ニ對スル
 輕侮ト排斥トハ却テ益々甚ダシキヲ致シタノデアリマス。帝國政府ハ支
 那側ニ對シ、日本國民ノ忍耐ヲ試サムトスルガ如キ態度ノ極メテ危險ナ
 ルコトヲ、幾度トナク警告シタノデアリマス。ルガ、寸毫モ改善セラルル
 所ナキノミナラズ、却テ愈々惡化シマスル一面、忍耐ニ忍耐ヲ重ネ來ツ
 タ日本國民ノ感情ガ遂ニ極度ニ尖鋭化スルニ至リマシタ折柄、帝國ノ生
 命線タル滿蒙ニ於テ、彼ノ九月十八日事件ノ發生ヲ見ルニ至リ、我方ニ
 於テハ敢然トシテ正當防衛ノ行動ニ出ヅル外ナカツタノデアリマス。然

ルニ右ノ帝國ノ行動ヲ以テ、不戰條約ニ違反スルモノナルヤノ所説ヲナ
 スモノガアリマスガ、斯ノ如キハ、全ク事實ニ即セザル主張デアリマス、
 帝國ノ存立ト重大ナル關係ヲ有スル權益ニ對スル支那側ノ暴戾ナル侵害
 ニ對シ、我方ニ於テ、眞ニ已ムヲ得ズシテ起チ、之ガ防止ニ必要ナル行
 動ニ出デタモノナルコトハ、前述ノ通りデアリマス、不戰條約ハ此種ノ
 場合ニ於ケル自衛權ノ行使ヲ制限スルモノデハアリマセヌ、即チ同條約
 ハ、締約國ガ其判斷ニ基キ、自國ノ領土及一切ノ權益ニ對スル危險ヲ防
 止スル爲必要ト認ムル措置ヲ執ルコトヲ禁止シテハ居ラナイノデアリマ
 ス、又右自衛權ノ行使ハ、行使國ノ領土外ニ及ビ得ルモノナルコト明カ
 デアリマス、帝國ノ行動ハ他ノ列國ガ同様ノ場合ニ執リマシタ措置ト其
 本質ヲ同ウスルモノデアリマス、右ノ如ク我方ニ於テ自衛行動ニ出デマ
 スルヤ、張學良政權ニ屬シテ居リマシタ官吏ノ大部分ガ、或ハ逃亡又ハ
 辭職シ、該政權ノ事實的解消ヲ見ルニ至リマシタコトハ、御承知ノ通り
 デアリマス、然ルニ滿蒙ニ於キマシテハ、豫テ同地方ヲ以テ支那本部ニ
 於ケル内亂ノ渦中ニ投ズルコトニ反對シ、且累年ニ互ル張家ノ惡政ヲ憎
 惡スル有識人士ノ間ニ、政治改革ノ機運ガ醸シツツアツタノデアリマ

スガ、是等人士ハ右張學良政權倒壊ノ機會ヲ利用シ、現實ノ運動ニ著手
 シタノデアリマス、即チ前述張學良政權ノ事實的解消ノ結果、奉天哈爾
 賓等ニ治安維持會ガ成立シマシタガ、我方トシテハ、滿蒙ニ於ケル治安
 維持ノ責任上、是等維持會ニ對シ、必要ノ援助ヲ吝マナカッタノデアリ
 マス、然ルニ是等維持會關係ノ要人等ハ、此情勢ニ應ジ、驟然起テ遂ニ
 新國家ヲ創建スルニ至ツタノデアリマス、要スルニ滿洲國ノ成立ハ、同
 地方ガ支那本部ニ對シテ有スル地理的、歴史的及ビ住民心理上ノ特異性
 ヲ背景トセル獨立運動ノ結果ニ外ナラナイノデアリマス、或ハ新國家ノ
 成立ヲ以テ我が軍事行動ノ結果ナリトシ、之ニ對スル責任ヲ帝國ニ歸セ
 ントスル者モアリマスガ斯ノ如キハ前述ノ事情ヲ認識セザルニ基クモノ
 デアツテ、我方ノ容認シ得ベキ限リデハアリマセヌ、又滿洲國政府ニ多
 數本邦人ノ在職シテ居ル事實ヲ以テ、新國家ノ成立ニ帝國ガ何等カノ關
 係ヲ有シ居ルヤニ邪推スル者モアリマスガ、建國草創ノ際外國人ノ技能
 ヲ利用スルコトハ、幾多ノ先例ガアルノデアリマス、現ニ我國ノ如キ
 モ、明治維新後、多數ノ外國人ヲ官吏又ハ顧問トシテ傭聘シテ居ツタノ
 デアリマシテ、例ヘバ明治八年頃ニ於ケル是等外國人ノ總數ハ五百名ヲ

スガ、是等人士ハ右張學良政權倒壊ノ機會ヲ利用シ、現實ノ運動ニ著手
 シタノデアリマス、即チ前述張學良政權ノ事實的解消ノ結果、奉天哈爾
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 維持ノ責任上、是等維持會ニ對シ、必要ノ援助ヲ吝マナカッタノデアリ
 マス、然ルニ是等維持會關係ノ要人等ハ、此情勢ニ應ジ、蹶然起テ遂ニ
 新國家ヲ創建スルニ至ッタノデアリマス、要スルニ滿洲國ノ成立ハ、同
 地方ガ支那本部ニ對シテ有スル地理的、歴史的及ビ住民心理上ノ特異性
 ヲ背景トセル獨立運動ノ結果ニ外ナラナイノデアリマス、或ハ新國家ノ
 成立ヲ以テ我が軍事行動ノ結果ナリトシ、之ニ對スル責任ヲ帝國ニ歸セ
 ントスル者モアリマスガ斯ノ如キハ前述ノ事情ヲ認識セザルニ基クモノ
 デアツテ、我方ノ容認シ得ベキ限リデハアリマセヌ、又滿洲國政府ニ多
 數本邦人ノ在職シテ居ル事實ヲ以テ、新國家ノ成立ニ帝國ガ何等カノ關
 係ヲ有シ居ルヤニ邪推スル者モアリマスガ、建國草創ノ際外國人ノ技能
 ヲ利用スルコトハ、幾多ノ先例ガアルノデアリマス、現ニ我國ノ如キ
 モ、明治維新後、多數ノ外國人ヲ官吏又ハ顧問トシテ傭聘シテ居ッタノ
 デアリマシテ、例ヘバ明治八年頃ニ於ケル是等外國人ノ總數ハ五百名ヲ

超過シテ居タノデアリマス、要スルニ個人タル本邦人が滿洲國政府ニ在
 職セル事實ヨリシテ、前述ノ如キ邪推ヲナスハ、僻見モ甚ダシキモノデ
 アリマス、滿洲國ノ成立ガ支那内部ノ分離運動ノ結果ナルコトハ、上
 詳述ノ通りデアリマス、然ルニ斯ノ如クニシテ成立セル既存ノ新國家ニ
 對スル帝國ノ承認ヲ以テ、九國條約ノ規定ト違反ストノ主張ヲナス者モ
 アリマスガ、右ハ甚ダ不可解ナル議論デアルト思ヒマス、九國條約ハ前
 述ノ如キ支那ニ於ケル分離作用即チ支那ノ一地方ノ住民ガ目已ノ發意ニ
 依ツテ獨立國ヲ建設スルコトヲ禁止スルモノデハアリマセヌ、從テ九國
 條約當事國タル帝國ガ滿蒙ニ於ケル住民ノ發意ニ依リ成立シマシタ既存
 ノ滿洲國ヲ承認シマシテモ、同條約ノ規定ニ牴觸スルコトハナイノデア
 リマス、固ヨリ我方ニ於テ滿蒙ノ併合、其他同地方ニ對シ領土慾ヲ満足
 セシメムトスルガ如キ假定ノ下ニ於テハ、問題ハ別デアリマス。併ナガ
 ラ帝國ガ滿蒙ニ對シ、何等ノ領土的異圖ヲ有セザルコトハ今更多言ヲ要
 シマセヌ、以上ヲ以テ私ハ支那ニ對スル帝國ノ態度、殊ニ九月十八日事
 件發生以來我方ノ執リ來リシ措置ガ極メテ正當且適法ノモノナルコト、
 滿洲國ハ其住民ノ自發的意圖ニ依リ成立セルモノニシテ、支那ニ於ケル

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分離運動ノ結果ト見ルベキモノナルコト、及ビ斯ノ如クニシテ成立セル
新國家ニ對シ帝國ニ於テ承認ヲ與フルハ、九國條約ノ規定ニ何等抵觸セ
サルコトヲ明カニシタ次第デアリマスガ、更ニ進ンデ帝國政府ガ滿洲國
ノ承認ヲ以テ滿蒙問題解決ノ唯一ノ方法ト認メマスル所以ニ言及シタイ
ト思ヒマス、滿蒙問題ノ解決ニ關シ帝國政府ノ最モ重キヲ置キマスル所
ヘ、第一ニ其住民ノ正當ナル要望ガ滿タサレ、且帝國ノ權益ガ確保サル
ルト共ニ、苟クモ舊來ノ排外的施設ノ再現ヲ防止シテ同地方ニ内外人安
住ノ樂土ヲ築キ、以テ滿蒙自体ノ安定ハ勿論、進ンデ極東ニ於ケル恒久
的平和ノ招來ヲ期スルコト、及ビ第二ニ感情論又ハ抽象論ヲ排シ、滿蒙
ニ於ケル現實ノ事實ヲ基礎トシテ問題ノ解決ヲ期スルコトノ二點デアリ
マス、我々ハ滿洲事變ノ勃發ヲ見ルニ至リマシタ過去ノ經緯及ビ從來滿
蒙ニ對シ、我國ノ拂ヒマシタ絶大ノ犠牲ニ願ミ、右二點ニ即シテ滿蒙問
題ノ根本的解決ヲ計リ、以テ日支間永年ノ禍源ヲ一掃スルノ要アルコト
ヲ痛感スル者デアリマス、然ルニ近時支那本部政權ヲシテ何等カノ形式
ニ依リ滿蒙ニ關係セシムルコトトシ、以テ一時ヲ糊塗セムトスル解決案
ヲ考慮スル向モアルヤウデアリマスガ、斯ノ如キハ究極スル所、九月十

Def.Doo. 2011

八日事件以前ノ状態ヲ繰返ス結果ニ終ルベキコト、我々永年ノ經驗ニ顧ミ、何等疑ナイ所デアリマシテ、日本國民ハ右ノ如キ解決案ニ斷ジテ賛成スル者デハアリマセヌ、又支那本部政權ノ滿蒙進出ハ如何ナル形式ヲ以テスルヲ問ハズ、滿洲國政府ノ建國宣言及ビ對外聲明等ニ表示セラレマシタ政治的信條ト全然相容レザルモノデアリマシテ、滿洲國人ニ於テ之ヲ容認セザルベキコト火ヲ賭ルヨリモ明カデアリマス、滿蒙ニ對シ其人民ノ欲セザル所ヲ強制セムトスルガ如キハ正義ノ觀念ノ許サザル所デアリマスノミナラズ、同地方ニ新ナル紛亂ノ種ヲ播クニ外ナライノデアリマス、要スルニ支那本部政權ノ滿蒙進出ヲ計ルガ如キ企圖、其他類似ノ不徹底ナル考案ハ前述ノ如キ滿蒙ヲ以テ内外人安住ノ樂土トナサムトスル目的ニハ副ハズ、又滿蒙ニ於ケル現實ノ事態ヲ基礎トスベシトノ趣旨ニモ合ハナイノデアリマシテ、滿蒙自体ノ安定、乃至極東ニ於ケル恒久的の平和ヲ招來スル所以デハアリマセヌ、是ニ反シ滿洲國ニ於キマシテハ、其建國宣言、及ビ對外聲明等ニ内外ニ對スル極メテ公正妥當ナル政策ヲゲ居リ、殊ニ對外關係ニ付キマシテハ、正義ト平和ト親善トヲ主旨トスベキコト、國際法、及ビ國際慣行ニ照シテ既存條約上ノ義務ヲ

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繼承履行スベキコト、外國人ノ既得權益ヲ尊重シ、其生命財産ヲ保護ス
 ベキコト、外國人ノ來住ヲ歡迎シ、且各民族ニ對シ、平等公正ナル待遇
 ヲ與フベキコト、外國人ノ經濟活動ニ關シ門戶開放ノ主義ヲ遵守スベキ
 コト、列國トノ通商貿易ヲ容易ナラシメ、世界經濟ノ發展ニ貢獻スベキ
 コト等ノ方針ヲ宣明イタシテ居リマスノミナラズ、同國當局ハ右實行ノ
 十分ナル誠意ヲ有スルモノト認メラルル次第デアリマス、從テ同國ニ對
 シ承認ヲ與ヘ、此上トモ同國ガ前述ノ如キ健全ナル政策方針ノ實施ニ遇
 進シテ參リマシヤウ援助シテ行クコトハ、即チ現實ノ事態ニ基イテ滿蒙
 ニ内外人安住ノ樂土ヲ築ク所以デアリマシテ、是實ニ滿蒙問題ノ恒久的
 解決ヲ齎ラス唯一ノ方法デアルコトハ、何人ニモ明カナル筈デアリマス、
 滿洲國ノ政策方針ノ公正妥當ナルコト右ノ如ク、又同國當局ニ於テ、之
 ガ實行ニ關シ、十分ナル誠意ヲ有スルコト前述ノ通りデアリマスルヲ以
 テ、同國ニシテ建國ノ純真ナル精神ヲ堅持シ努メテ已マナケレバ、其前
 途ハ實ニ洋々タルモノガアリマス、世間或ハ同國ニ於ケル匪賊ノ跳梁ヲ
 過大視シ或ハ同國ノ財政難ヲ豫斷スルガ如キ者モアリマスガ、斯ノ如キ
 悲觀論ニハ容易ニ左袒スルコトガ出來ナイデアリマス、新興國ニ於テ

其建國當初、現下ノ滿洲國ニ於ケルガ如キ不逞分子ノ跳梁ヲ見ルコトハ、世界ニ幾多ノ事例ガアルノデアリマシテ、而モ多數ノ場合ニ於テ之ガ鎮定ニハ相當ノ年月ヲ費シテ居ルノデアリマス、是ニ比較スレバ目下滿洲國ニ於ケル匪賊ノ討伐ハ良好ナル成績ヲ以テ進行シテ居ルモノト見ナケレバナリマセヌ、又滿洲國ノ財政ハ、同國當局ガ其建國當初ニ豫想シテ居リマシタ所ヨリモ遙ニ良好デアルト云フコトヲ聞及ンデ居リマス、滿洲國ハ其領域及ビ人口、殊ニ廣大ナル富源ニ顧ミマシテ施政宜シキヲ得ム、必ヤ富裕ナル國家トナリ、世界各國ニ取ツテモ有望ナル市場トナリマスルコト疑問ノ余地ガアリマセヌ、私ハ斯クシテ滿洲國ガ健全ナル發達ヲ遂ゲ、普ニ同國三千万民衆ノ福祉ヲ招來スルノミナラズ支那本部更ニ生ノ好模範トナラムコトヲ期待スルモノデアリマス、竊ツテ支那本部ノ狀況ヲ見マスルニ、最近内政ノ紛亂ハ一層甚シキヲ致シタル一方、共匪ノ跳梁ハ長江及南支一帶ノ廣大ナル面積ニ互ツテ居ルノデアリマシテ、國民政府ノ前途ニ對シ重大ナル暗影ヲ投ジテ居ル狀態デアリマス、而モ排外殊ニ排日運動ハ依然トシテ止マナイノデアリマスルガ、斯ノ如クンバ支那本部ト外國トノ關係ハ愈々紛糾ヲ加ヘ、其結果益々國內ノ混亂ヲ

誘致スベキコト想像ニ難カラヌノデアリマシテ、之ニ伴フ人民ノ窮苦ハ眞ニ同情ニ堪ヘナイモノガアリマス、私ハ支那ガ今日ノ狀況ヲ續ケテ行キマスルコトハ、替ニ同國自身ノ爲メ寒心ニ堪ヘザルノミナラズ、外國側ニ取ツテモ由々シキ形勢ヲ持チ來スノ危險ヲ包藏シテ居ルコトヲ痛感スルノデアリマス、之ニ反シ支那側ガ敍上ノ事態ニ深く思ヲ致シ、速力ニ其誤レル對外政策ヨリ脱却スルト共ニ眞面目ニ其内部ノ整頓ニ精進セヌトスル建設的ノ態度ニ出デ來リマスルナラバ、右ハ支那並ニ諸外國双方ノ爲メ眞ニ喜バシキコトデアリマシテ、我が國民ガ東洋ノ大局ニ願テ出來得ル限りノ助力ヲ惜マサルベキコト勿論デアリマス、私ハ同文同種ノ日滿支三國ガ各々獨立國トシテ相倚リ相助ケ、極東ノ安寧福祉ノ爲メ、延テ世界平和ト人類文化トノ爲メ努力邁進スル時期ノ一日モ遠ニ到來セムコトヲ翹望シテ已マナイ者デアリマス

中
畧

宣誓ノ出所並ニ成立ニ關スル證明書

(三號)

自分官坂完孝參議院憲政部長ノ職ニ當ル者ナル處、茲ニ添附セラレタル
日本語ニ依ツテ誓カレ八頁ヨリ成ル官報號外、第六十三回帝國議會、昭
和七年八月二十六日貴族院議事速記第二號ト題スル書類ハ日本政府（
貴族院）ノ保管ニ係ル公文書ノ拔萃ノ正確ニシテ眞實ナル寫シナルコト
ヲ證明ス

昭和二十二年 月 日 於東京 官坂完孝

11

右署名捺印ハ自分ノ面前ニ於テ爲サレタリ

同日於同所

參議院速記課長

立會人 山田 到